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THE HEARTS OF OAK, *Commercial Road. Cogswell's elaborate ground floor extension of 1897 was in marked contrast with the older structure.* Courtesy Whitbread Wessex.

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PUBLIC HOUSES AND BEERHOUSES IN NINETEENTH CENTURY PORTSMOUTH

R. C. Riley, BSc (Econ), PhD and Philip Eley, BSc

However much the public house may be associated with the unashamed consumption of alcoholic beverages, with raucous merriment and strikingly eclectic architectural styles, the concept is somewhat superficial for arguably the nineteenth century licensed house lay at the centre of male working class society. In an age when educational attainment was limited, recreational facilities rudimentary and the reality of life outstandingly harsh, the public house and beerhouse represented a convivial meeting place for neighbourhood residents, for local societies, including those urging temperance, for soldiers and sailors briefly free from military endeavours, for travellers and, more fleetingly, for workmen en route to and from their place of employment. Eager to augment their trade, landlords would offer live entertainment, out of which the music hall had sprung by mid-century, skittle alleys were as popular early in the century as were billiards towards its end, whilst the oldest profession thrived in and around the seedier houses, in particular the beerhouses that flourished in the forty years after 1830. All these strands were regulated by increasingly strict licensing laws, interpreted by the middle class magistrates of the bench, and executed by a police force encouraged to set itself apart from those it would control. At the national scale, far from remaining a matter of concern for the church, social reformers and the temperance lobby, the licensed house had, by the end of the century, become a crucial political issue, the Tories and the brewing interests facing the Liberals, behind whom were ranged the abolitionist groups.

Such was the influence of drink legislation upon the nature and number of licensed premises throughout the century that the more important Acts of Parliament provide a convenient framework for this paper. Briefly, the key dates were 1830, from which derived the notorious beerhouse, and 1869, when beerhouses came under the control of the magistrates. Table 1 provides some preliminary evidence of the manner in which beerhouses burgeoned to such a degree that their numbers far exceeded those of public houses by 1869. The dramatic increase in public houses between 1850 and 1869 was linked to the growth of beerhouses, for the magistrates were persuaded that as they were powerless to curb beerhouses, they should look favourably upon applications for full licences from the better premises. It was the beerhouse that subsequently claimed the justices' attention as they addressed themselves to the problem of sweeping away those considered to be socially undesirable. There is therefore considerable justification for regarding the beerhouse rather than the public house as the more dynamic component of the Victorian drinking scene, and indeed it is surprising to find that such authoritative commentators as Girouard, Harrison, Monckton and Spiller are barely concerned to differentiate between the two.[1]

Table 1

Licensed Premises in Portsmouth 1798–1900

	Public (Ale) Houses	On-Licensed Beerhouses
1798	170	—
1824	200	—
1830	227	400
1852	235	330
1861	252	464
1869	332	565
1900	318	459

Sources: *The Universal British Directory of Trade, Commerce and* Maintenance, 4, 1798; *Portsmouth Directory 1823–4; Pigot & Co's National Commercial Directory 1830; Hampshire Telegraph,* 4 October 1830; *Hunt & Co's Directory of Hampshire and Dorsetshire*, 1852; *Hampshire Telegraph*, 14 September 1861; *Hampshire Telegraph*, 28 August 1869; *Hampshire Telegraph*, 25 August 1900.

Inns and Alehouses 1800–1830

Eighteenth century topographers were in no doubt as to the riotous nature of the nation's foremost naval dockyard town. Writing of Portsmouth in 1795, Dr George Pinckton pompously observed:

> Commonly gross obscenity and intoxication preserve enough of diffidence to seek the concealment of night, but here hordes of profligate females are seen reeling in drunkenness, or plying upon the streets in open day with a broad immodesty which puts the great orb of noon to blush.[2]

More objectively, and at pains to emphasise the relationship between the Navy and the consumption of alco-

THE NINE ELMS TAVERN, *Grigg Street (St Paul's Road), photographed c. 1875. A beerhouse whose tenant doubled as a builder. Its name changed to the Five Alls in 1906.* Courtesy Portsmouth City Records Office.

hol, not to mention an understanding of economics, a directory for 1798 declared:

> yet the continual resort of seamen and soldiers to it (Portsmouth), the men of war being often paid off here, renders it always full of people . . . so that the inns and taverns are perpetually crowded; by which means there is such a consumption of provisions as makes them dear.[3]

The same directory might have remarked upon the way the town itself was crowded with inns and taverns. By relating the 170 alehouses listed for 1798 to the 1801 population, a ratio of one house per 189 inhabitants may be derived. However impressive this may appear, it should be seen in the context of the ratio of one house per 77 inhabitants recorded for 1716,[4] when there were no less than 41 alehouses outside the town walls at Point alone,[5] although the principal function of some of these houses may have been lodgings rather than the sale of drink. The cessation of hostilities in 1815 and the ensuing reduction of activities in the dockyard provided little incentive for the opening of new licensed houses, with the consequence that population increased more rapidly than drinking places. The ratio in 1831 was one house per 233 people, a figure destined not to be equalled until the late Victorian period following the boom in the construction of beerhouses after 1830.

The ratios discussed above disguise the very considerable variation in the size of licensed premises, and indeed the directories were always careful to distinguish between the more prestigious inns and the relatively pedestrian taverns. Inevitably the dividing line was blurred, but rateable values are a fruitful surrogate for size and arguably quality. *The George* in the High Street, dating from 1612 and comprising three houses disguised as one, was unboubtedly the largest inn, with a rateable value of £283 in 1852.[6] Associated with Nelson and other high ranking naval officers, it was a true coaching inn with two stages, 'Royal Mail' and 'Regulator' departing daily for London, while others left for Brighton and Bristol.[7] *The Fountain*, High Street, rated at £183 10*s*. 0*d*., was also constructed from three houses and was proclaimed 'capable of dining 200 persons with ease' and able to lodge 170 persons 'commodiously'. 'Such is the constant influx of company here that a laundress has a house upon the premises.'[8] Banquets were frequently held at both these inns, *The Fountain* being the scene of the first Mayoral banquet held in 1836 to celebrate the passing of the Municipal Reform Act. The 1838 Corporation dinner was enjoyed by 60 dignitaries at *The George*, accompanied by 'humorous singing and chaste harmony'.[9] A daily coach left for Winchester and another for London from *The Fountain*, as did the 'Times' from the third great Portsmouth inn, *The Blue Posts*, Broad Street, dating from 1613. The name derived from the blue-painted wooden pilasters flanking the entrance to the bar and stableyard, where the author Marryat had his Peter Simple duel with a pistol loaded with redcurrant jam. Not one of these inns survives. *The Blue Posts* was destroyed by fire in 1870, *The George* suffered a similar fate in 1941, and *The Fountain* which had been acquired in 1873 by Sarah Robinson for her Portsmouth Institute and Home for Soldiers, and later to become the YMCA was demolished in 1970. *The Globe*, Oyster Street, is listed by Gates as a coaching inn,[10] but its inferior status is indicated by the operation of its London service, the 'Royal Blue', during the summer season only. Other premises listed as inns but lacking the cachet of London coach termini, included *The Crown*, High Street, built in 1805 and whose owner during the 1820s, Mr. Cross, is said to have introduced bathing machines to Portsmouth, *The Quebec Hotel*, Bath Square, rated at £117 in 1852, *The Dolphin*, High Street, rated at £86 10*s*. 0*d*., and *The Star and Garter*, Broad Street, rated at £82 and a favourite overnight resting place of the keen sailor the Duke of Clarence before he became William IV in 1830.[11]

Inns were not confined to Old Portsmouth, but those elsewhere were less prestigious, and indeed some, such as the *King's Arms* and the *Red Lion*, both in Queen Street, Portsea, were pejoratively listed in an 1830 directory as 'commercial',[12] an epithet not employed in respect of the Portsmouth hostelries. Besides being saddled with a 'commercial' function, the *Blacksmiths' Arms* in Union Road, later Commmercial Road, was, because of its central location, used as a collection point for mail when the daily service was inaugurated on 3 June 1803. Letters were taken in at 1*d*. each and collected at 4 p.m. by a messenger who would 'convey them to the Post Office in Portsmouth to be forwarded by respective mails to all parts of the Kingdom'.[13] Strategically sited taverns such as *The George* at Buckland and the *White Hart* at Kingston Cross were also part of the network, which albeit short-lived, nevertheless demonstrated the multiplicity of uses to which inns and alehouses were then put.

It is clear from the aristocratic, naval and bourgeois patronage of the inns that they were far removed from the stereotype of the working class tavern. They were largely located on the socially superior central spine of the old town of Portsmouth and were thus almost entirely absent from Portsea, the traditional home of the dockyardmen. The large licensed premises in Portsea, such as *The Mitre*, Kent Street, rated at £103 10*s*. 0*d*., and the *Ship and Castle* on The Hard, rated at £100 in 1852, seem to have been regarded as taverns rather than inns. The latter were in

effect the hotels of the day and were the precursors of such grandiose Victorian structures as the *Pier Hotel* and the *Beach Mansions Hotel*, constructed on the Southsea sea front in the 1860s.[14] The gulf that separated them from the taverns and alehouses of the time may be judged from the finding that of the 72 licensed premises identifiable in the 1852 rate returns for Old Portsmouth, 55 (76 per cent) were assigned a value of less than £30, while the smallest inn, *The Star and Garter*, was rated at £82. Although it was a gradual process, inns inevitably came to lose their pre-eminent position. Mail coaches ceased running in 1841 with the completion of the railway between Gosport and London, and the opening of Portsmouth Town station six years later further undermined the need for coaching facilities. Southsea's fashionable hotels were the effective death knell for all but a few inns, most of which suffered an ignominious transformation into public houses during the later years of the century.

In the light of the fairly substantial capital sums involved, brewers owned many of the inns and larger taverns. Some evidence of this is provided by the rent rolls which refer to properties on Corporation land. The rolls for 1821 and 1830 indicate that *The Blue Posts* and *The Fountain* were brewers' properties, both belonging to the firm of Spicer. *The Keppel's Head* on The Hard and *The White Hart* at Kingston were both owned by brewers in 1821; the former was a Spicer and the latter a Pike property.[15] Portsmouth brewers certainly paid particular attention to the acquisition of alehouses, and based on the rent rolls alone, some 44 of a total of 200 houses (22 per cent) were owned by brewers in 1821. This proportion was unquestionably short of the true position and was inevitably lower than that of 30 per cent calculated from an excise return of 1816 for England and Wales as a whole.[16]

A more accurate indication of ownership may be derived from the rate returns after 1837, which reveal characteristics which would have obtained at the outset of the decade. No less than 163 of a total of 245 fully licensed houses, that is, some two-thirds, were tied to brewers in 1838. Indicative of the degree of concentration was the control of some 90 per cent by the six largest firms: Pike claimed 72, Spicer 34, Garrett 21, Deacon 8,[17] Brown 7 and Knott 7. That Portsmouth should have exhibited monopolistic trends more associated with the later years of the century was due to the dynamic qualitites of the leading brewers in the borough. Their dynamism may be judged not only from their commercial success, but also from their political stature, which in turn may conceivably have assisted their business. Pike & Co. was built up by William Pike who pursued a single-mindedly aggressive expansionist policy. After his death in 1777 the brewery was run by his son-in-law, John Carter, whose political ventures began the process which saw the family becoming not far short of an oligarchy in the town. Carter was elected mayor on seven occasions. His son, Sir John, was mayor nine times. Sir John's son, John Bonham Carter, was Portsmouth's MP for two decades, and his nephew Edward Carter was mayor on five occasions. The firm of Spicer was run by two brothers, Samuel, who was knighted in 1817 and who was four times mayor, and David who was three times elected mayor.[18] Garrett's was controlled by the influential Sir George Garrett. Since licensing was, until 1835, in the hands of magistrates who were automatically the mayor and senior members of the Council, it is conceivable that the politically active brewers might have been able to influence the grant of licences favourable to themselves and thereby assist their growth. The domination of the Portsmouth police force by licensed victuallers, until they

were disqualified from so serving by the Alehouse Licensing Act after October 1823,[19] may also have aided the process.

While many privately owned alehouses traditionally obtained their supplies from a single brewer, thereby providing the latter with a captive market without the tribulations of ownership, many houses brewed their own beer. Convincing documentary evidence of the practice in the early part of the century is difficult to find, but in the 1840s there is a welter of notices in the press advertising the sale of alehouses and beerhouses together with adjacent breweries.[20] The ability of such tiny brewing operations to generate profits is reflected in the rapid growth in the number of 'retail brewers', created under an Act of 1824 which empowered them to trade provided that less than 16 bushels were brewed at any one time and that beer was consumed off the premises.[21] Pigot lists 18 such retail brewers for 1830. The retail brewers were in a sense the precursors of the off-licence trade, but even more significantly, they were among the first to take advantage of the 1830 Beer House Act which permitted the sale of beer on the premises virtually without restriction, and which ushered in a period of gross overcapacity, marginal profits, squalid houses and nefarious practices.

The Beerhouse Era 1830–1869

The 1820s witnessed a dramatic change in national drinking habits. Between 1823 and 1830 the annual per capita consumption of spirits almost exactly doubled. If the reasons for this social revolution are unclear, the government was certain such a trend represented moral turpitude and determined to encourage the sale of healthy beer in place of pernicious gin. In an age when water and milk were often impure, beer was an important ingredient in everyone's diet and boys were recommended 'a pint of really sound bitter for breakfast'.[22] Wellington's Beer House Act abolished the duty on beer and permitted any householder paying the poor rate to sell beer, having first obtained a two guinea licence from the Excise; business was not to be transacted before 4 a.m. or after 10 p.m. and crucially, a licence from the justices was not required. An alehouse or public house, by comparison, was licensed to sell spirits as well as beer and was not subject to closing restrictions. The Act sought to achieve 'the better supply of the public with beer . . . to give greater facilities for the sale thereof than are at present afforded by licences to keepers of inns, alehouses and victualling houses'.[23] Simultaneously the legislation struck at the growing control of the trade by brewers through ownership and mortgages to licencees; for a variety of reasons it was certainly popular and by September 1830 400 beerhouse licences had been granted in Portsmouth,[24] and nationally by the end of the year some 24,342 licences had been issued by the Excise authorities. Small wonder that the ratio of drinking houses to population in the borough fell drastically from its 1821 level to one to 80 inhabitants by 1831.

Unhappily for the new beershop owners and tenants, and indeed for the government, the consumption of spirits dropped only imperceptibly during the 1830s, while beer sales actually fell until 1832, after which there was but a sluggish rise to 1840, thereafter to be followed by a decline to well below the 1830 situation until the mid-1850s.[25] Inevitably beer prices dropped as competition stiffened, and brewers attempted to undercut the newcomers.[26] Landlords resorted to the dilution of their beer to maintain low prices, and were obliged to allow activities collectively known as disorderly conduct to attract and retain custom. Despite an increase in the beerhouse licence fee to three guineas and the requirement of a certificate of good character signed by six ratepayers in 1834, and the raising of the rating qualification in 1840,[27] the competitive climate, exacerbated by the brewers, who were able to subsidise beer sales by profits from spirits, remained unchanged. Beerhouses became known as 'Tom and Gerry shops' and were forthrightly denounced by Gladstone as 'haunts of thieves and schools for prostitutes. They demoralise the lower classes . . . The words "licensed to be drunk on the premises" are by the common people interpreted as applicable to the customers as well as to the liquors.'[28]

Against this trading background, it is not surprising that by the end of the 1830s many beerhouses had gone out of business, and it was not until the early 1850s that the number of beerhouses in the country as a whole rose once more to the peak of the mid-1830s. It is likely that this situation prevailed in Portsmouth. Certainly their number had contracted to 214 by 1847,[29] and following the national trend, there was a sharp increase to 330 in 1852, when they were numerically superior to public houses. This superiority was precisely the reverse of the national situation. Between 1843 and 1869 the number of on-licensed beerhouses in the country increased with remarkable consistency, at the same rate as did public houses, but at a level some two-thirds of the latter.[30] In contrast, by the 1860s Portsmouth public houses were only two-thirds as numerous as beerhouses. It was thus the beerhouse rather than the public house that gave Portsmouth its distinctive flavour during this period, and it was the beerhouse that substantially contributed to the high density of licensed premises of one per 132 and one per 131 inhabitants in 1861 and 1871 respectively. As the legacy of earlier centuries, Old Portsmouth was the scene of almost unbelievable concentration of drinking houses. In 1869, before the introduction of magisterial control of beerhouses, there was

THE PENHALE ARMS, *Fratton Road. An imaginative use of decorative tiling and stained glass typical of many late Victorian houses. Jewells were taken over by Brickwood in 1899.* Courtesy Portsmouth City Records Office.

one drinking place for every 68 people living there. That the beerhouses should have been so inordinately well developed was a reflection of their relatively unsophisticated and indeed bawdy nature, which was much to the liking of the sailors and soldiers who were present in much greater numbers than they were in the country as a whole. Perhaps the relationship between servicemen and beerhouses contributed to Measom's view that 'Everything looks, breathes and smells of soldiers, sailors and dockmen, the three classes who rule the state of society here.'[31]

In the thirty years after 1830 it proved difficult to persuade the justices to sanction full licences, causing the number of alehouses to rise only slowly, as Table 1 illustrates. *The Hampshire Telegraph* remarked on 22 January 1853 that every application for public house status in the previous twelve years had been refused, save for Thomas Ellis Owen's *Portland Hotel*, the *Sussex Hotel*, which greatly benefited from the opening of the railway station, and was rated at £100 in 1852, and the impeccably middle class *East Hants Cricket Club* in East Southsea. The greater part of the applications originated from beerhouse keepers, all 14 of whose pleas, for instance, were found wanting in 1849.[32] During the later 1850s the magistrates had a change of heart, for their restrictive policy had succeeded only in removing the incentive for beerhouse keepers to improve their premises with a view to securing a full licence. Having no jurisdiction over the number of beerhouses, the justices considered that they could at least ensure that some of these properties were of a tolerable standard. The consequence was a sharp rise in alehouses from 238 in 1858[33] to 332 in 1870. The change had been forced upon the bench, and on the people – for wines and spirits were now much more freely available – by events in the beerhouse trade. It follows that most of the alehouses created in the 1860s began life as beerhouses. Of the 106 full licences granted between 1858 and 1870, only three were issued in favour of premises that were not beerhouses. *St George's Hotel*, St George's Square, opened in 1859, was one of the latter, but by contrast the three leading new hotels of the period, the *Queen's,* the *Pier* and the *Beach Mansions*, were initially beerhouses, *de jure* if not *de facto*, since they opened a few months before a full licence could be granted. The *Queen's Hotel* apart, they were purpose-built structures and have since been barely modified, but a good many existing public houses, some now of impressive size and architecture, originated as humble beerhouses. The presently substantial *Coach House*, formerly the *Borough Arms*, St Paul's Road, began life in 1857 as the tap room of Luke's Brewery with a beerhouse licence. Other examples are the *Florist*, Fratton Road (1859), the *Alma Arms*, Highland Road (1864), the *Fifth Hants Volunteers*, Albert Road (1864), and the *Castle Tavern*, Somers Road (1864). Later in the decade the *Mystery*, Warwick Street (1866) and the *India Arms*, Great Southsea Street (1867) both opened as beerhouses. It is clear, therefore, that to understand the antecedents of beerhouses is to understand the antecedents of a great many Portsmouth public houses.

Early beerhouses were scarcely distinguishable from the dwelling houses adjacent to them, so that it should occasion no surprise to find that builders played an important role in the initial stages of their life-cycle, as they did in the case of the majority of houses built in the middle years of the century. Chalklin found that in the period 1740–1820 craftsmen were responsible for the construction of half the Portsea houses for which he could find the deeds.[34] From a sample of 38 deeds for beerhouses, or properties that became beerhouses, built in Landport and Southsea in the 1840s and 1850s, it is clear that by this time it was housebuilders rather than craftsmen who put up the premises.[35] Two carpenters, two bricklayers, a millwright, a shipwright, a purser's steward, a coal merchant, a watchmaker and a bootmaker represented the craftsmen involved, but in the remaining 28 instances housebuilders were the con-

structors. Once built, there were a number of paths premises could take to achieve the status of beerhouse. Firstly the property could remain a dwelling house, later to become a beerhouse when the tenant or owner judged the time to be propitious. Some 14 of the 38 cases followed this path. Typical was the *Rose in June*, Hampton Street. On land bought in 1849, William Moody, builder, erected a number of houses, one of which was sold in 1861 to Elisha Bastable who opened it as a beerhouse, selling it in 1868 to the brewer Dormer Jewell. Secondly, there is evidence from eight deeds of properties being conveyed from builders to beersellers and brewers, justifying the assumption that these beerhouses could have been built as such. It is probable that all but the smallest builders were earmarking plots for speculative beerhouses by the early 1850s, as *The Builder* reported was occurring in London,[36] in the way the large estate companies were later to do for public houses, although it is possible that some beerhouses might have been built at the request of brewers. Whether this was so in the case of the *When Shall We Three Meet Again?*, Charles Street, conveyed in 1858 from H. J. Whiteheart, builder, to John Massey, brewer,[37] is unclear. By the 1860s the process appears to have become firmly established, and there are a number of instances of builders owning beerhouses applying for full licences and introducing the number of houses they had built locally to lend greater weight to their case. For example, at the 1863 Brewster Sessions, Thomas Sebright, the owner and builder of the *Stag*, Somers Road, was said to have erected three-quarters of the houses in the locality, and he offered to extend the property to the adjoining premises were the full licence granted.[38] The following year the successful application for a public house licence for the *Great Western*, Delhi Street, was based on the argument that the house was the only site on the estate assigned for beer selling, and that dwelling houses were covenanted not to be sold for the purpose of becoming beerhouses.[39]

Entries in the rate books indicate that beerhouses were regarded as a property investment on all fours with dwelling houses. A third path is thus purchase from a builder by an investor, and the installation of a tenant landlord. Richard Marvin, the Southsea estate agent, was the owner of the *Brunswick Arms*, Brunswick Street in 1857, and during the 1850s the *Volunteer Tavern*, Wiltshire Street, belonged to the property developer and architect Thomas Ellis Owen, although it is possible that Owen was also the builder in this case. Other houses owned by Owen were the *Mayflower*, Highland Road, and the *Lennox Arms*, Marmion Road. Fourthly, the premises might on completion become a shop, from which it was a small step to transfer later from one form of retailing to another. Thus *Ivy House*, Ivy Street, was the Ivy Dairy between 1846 and 1865 when it became a beerhouse,[40] and several, such as the *Free Trader*, Lancaster Road, were originally bakeries.[41] Six properties in the sample fell into this category. Fifthly, a shopkeeper or craftsman might sell beer together with other goods and services, and indeed Harrison notes that beer-selling was popular with the prosperous working man who could employ his wife behind the bar.[42] Thomas Reed who kept the *Raven* in St James's Road in the 1840s was described as 'A beer shopkeeper and dealer in small wares',[43] but generally it was a simple matter to establish the nature of the landlord's non-alcoholic activities, for it was traditional to advertise the latter in the name of the house. This was the derivation of the common *Bakers' Arms* and *Carpenters' Arms*, while Joseph Martin at the *Moulders' Arms*, West Street, Southsea, was an iron and brass founder who stored castings in the taproom.[44] The landlord of the *Coal Exchange*, Sackville Street, William Cox, doubled as a coal merchant.[45] Six of the sample premises were characterised by this duality. A final, and less usual method of establishment was the extension of a public house through the acquisition at its rear of premises facing into another street. An excellent example was that of the *Jordan*, Chandos Street, owned by Long the brewer who extended the house by the purchase of property at its rear in Arundel Street, and called the resulting beerhouse not inappropriately the *Other Side of Jordan*.[46]

Once opened, the majority of beerhouses were destined to remain at this level of trade, many to be closed in the more restrictive climes of later years, others to be used by brewers as sacrificial pawns in the full licence acquisition game. Those that survived the interplay of economic and social strictures and German air raids – 42 were lost in this fashion in 1941 – were rewarded by the grant of a full licence between 1948 and 1966, when 147 public houses were created. By comparison 103 beerhouses received full licences in the first of the two great permissive eras between 1858 and 1869, and at the same time they were relatively youthful. The average age of the 15 beerhouses granted full licences in 1864 was eight years; for the 23 the following year it had fallen to seven years, and in 1866 the 14 beerhouses had been open for an average of three years before their promotion. There was an increase to an average age of twelve and ten years in 1867 and 1868 respectively. It is evident that since the justices were unprepared to grant full licences to new premises, the trade retaliated by investing in beerhouses of above average stature, thus ensuring a relatively painless translation to a higher status. Curiously enough, the brewers did not play a major role in this process. Only 26 of the 103 beerhouses in receipt of a full licence between 1858 and 1870 were owned by brewers, a surprisingly low proportion in the light of the embar-

go on the direct sanction of public houses. Perhaps brewers' profits were sufficiently ample in part as a result of the burgeoning beerhouse market without their becoming unduly embroiled in ownership. The implication is that non-brewery interests were still a dynamic force in the town, and if the speed with which privately run beerhouses became public houses is used as a surrogate, there is certainly support for this view. Between 1859 and 1868 some 27 independent beerhouses had become public houses within two years of opening, yet the comparable figure for brewers' beerhouses was 17, despite the latters' arguably superior business acumen. However, since these 17 represented some two-thirds of brewers' beerhouses gaining a full licence, it would be erroneous to imply that Portsmouth brewers were entirely lacking in dynamic qualities. Beerhouses rapidly achieving public house status without the assistance of brewers included: the *Fort Cumberland Arms,* Eastney Road (1859), *St Mary's Arms*, St Mary's Road (1862), the *Great Western* (1864), the *R.M.A. Tavern*, Cromwell Road (1865), the *Mystery* (1866) and the *Nelson Tavern*, Victoria Road South (1867).

That so much of the transfer activity of beerhouses to public houses in the 1860s was occasioned by independent owners was a result of the caution and even disdain with which beerhouses were viewed by the brewers. This was nothing if not true of the leading firms, Pike, Spicer (who combined in 1840 to form Pike Spicer & Co) and Garrett. By 1847 Pike Spicer had 116 public houses,[47] and although 107 were recorded three years later, the firm nevertheless controlled almost half the total in the borough; the addition of Garrett's 23 houses gave the two firms control of 130 of the 230, that is 57 per cent, open in 1850. A decade later little had altered for Pike Spicer owned 109 and Garrett 28 of the town's 249 fully licensed premises. Yet neither firm expressed more than a fleeting interest in the possession of beerhouses, and even this disappeared once a full licence has been expeditiously secured. Pike Spicer's dealings on the beerhouse sector during the 1850s and 1860s were restricted to the acquisition of four premises for which they obtained a full licence within a year; the *Market House Tavern*, Commercial Road (1853) and the *Royal Oak*, Lake Road (1860) were two of these. On the other hand smaller brewers who owned a handful of public houses seem to have regarded the acquisition of beerhouses as a defensive strategy to increase their share of the market, at least for beer. By 1850 four firms, Anderson, Biden, Long and Jas. Paul jnr, each possessed four beerhouses, yet collectively owned a mere five public houses. This situation persisted and a decade later the leading beerhouse owners, Biden and Long with 11 each, Lush with 10, and Anderson and Davey with seven apiece, could muster but 13 fully licensed houses between them. Similarly in 1870 the six brewers with particular interests in beerhouses, Biden, Jewell, Lush and Young, all with 12, and Long and Tickner with 11 each, laid claim to 28 public houses, and this after a period when the justices were relatively easily persuaded to grant full licences. Some brewers saw beerhouses as an entrée into the tied-house system, none more so than Jewell and Young, both of whom opened beerhouses before diversifying, and both of whom had become beerhouse specialists by 1870, owning only two public houses each. Control of, or at least influence upon beerhouses was not restricted to outright ownership, for brewers sometimes leased properties to landlords and doubtless required the sale of their beer. George Long of St Mary's Brewery, St Mary's Road, for instance, had interests in nine beerhouses yet owned but one.[48] Despite the activities of the brewers, beerhouses at this time were very much the province of the small man, the equivalent of the shopkeeper, undercapitalised and leasing his property from a landlord. As beerhouses multiplied, brewers' interest in ownership does not seem to have gathered force, and independently owned beerhouses contracted only slightly from 77 per cent of the total in 1850 to 73 per cent in 1869.

Further evidence of the size of beerhouses may be derived from the rate returns. The average rateable value of the 37 beerhouses open in Old Portsmouth in 1867 was £20 as against a figure of £33 for the 72 public houses. (*The George*, rated at £250 and the *Blue Bell*, rated at £200, were excluded from the calculations since the former was effectively a large hotel and the latter a music hall with a full licence). Consequent upon the rating qualification introduced in 1840, no beerhouse fell below the £16 10*s*. 0*d*. rating level, but only six were valued above £25, and those were in the range of £26 10*s*. 0*d*. and £33 10*s*. 0*d*. In other words there was little deviation from the mean figure of £20. Inevitably the largest – *Lord Clyde*, Warblington Street, the *Fortune of War*, Gunwharf Road and the *Prince of Wales*, Highbury Street – were owned by brewers, respectively Long, Russell and Jewell. On the other hand, public houses exhibited a much greater dispersion about the mean of £33, and indeed some 13 were rated below the beerhouse average of £20. In a sense this is understandable since the majority of fully licensed premises in Old Portsmouth dated from the eighteenth century or earlier, and inherited their licence from a more tolerant era. Nevertheless the low rating of three public houses in particular excites speculation not only as to their size but also as to the quality of the facilities offered. The *Shovellers' Arms*, East Street and *Sir Henry Storks*, St Thomas Street, had values of £13 10*s*. 0*d*. but *Robin Hood and Little John*, West Street, was rated at a mere £10. Even so this tiny Pike Spicer hostelry lingered on until

THE BAKERS ARMS, *Commercial Road. A former Pike Spicer house dating from the 1840s with a spirit licence despite its dingy appearance. It closed in 1914.* Courtesy Portsmouth City Records Office.

1894 when its licence was transferred to another house within the firm. The antiquity of Old Portsmouth was also responsible for the reversal of the ratio of beerhouses to public houses in the borough. (See Table 1.) The old town was well provided with drinking facilities prior to the 1830 Beerhouse Act, and since its population and spatial extent did not grow after the Napoleonic period, there was little incentive for the opening of numerous beerhouses within the walls. By contrast the expanding acres of Landport and Southsea were seen to offer many more lucrative openings for prospective purveyors of beer and others.

During the 1860s the Portsmouth magistrates made it quite clear that they were prepared to grant full licences only to beerhouses of a good quality. This initiated a spate of rebuilding which endured well into the Edwardian period, although latterly architectural change was at least as much a ploy to attract custom as to secure a licence. Doubtless some rebuilding design work followed the ideas of the landlords themselves, but Portsmouth seems to have witnessed the early emergence of the professional beerhouse and public house architect. Girouard argues that they made their appearance in London in the 1870s,[49] but George Rake was employed in this capacity at least as early as 1858 when he worked for Pike Spicer on the rebuilding of the *Red Lion*, Queen Street.[50] Long retained William Oliver as their architect for the rebuild of the *Robin Hood*, Commercial Road, in 1862, and he may have been one of the first to produce photographs in court to further his case.[51] The implication of their success was that only the brewers and the more profitable independent owners would be likely to raise the capital necessary for substantial structural alterations. A threshold of approximately £1,000 appears to have been obtained. The *Painters' Arms*, Lake Road, was successful in 1861 after a rebuild costing £1,400, as were the *Windmill and Sawyer*, Copenhagen Street, in 1866 (£1,300), the *Golden Fleece*, Commercial Road, in 1867 (£1,200) and the *India Arms* in 1868 (£1,000).[52] Beerhouses such as the *Grantham Arms*, Somers Road, and the *Crimea*, Commercial Road, whose alterations cost £300 and £400 respectively,[53] were found wanting. From details advanced in court, it appears that the facilities provided by beerhouses meeting with the magistrates' approval were relatively substantial. The *Briton*, successful in 1862, possessed a bar measuring 18ft × 13ft, a bar parlour of 12ft × 12ft, a kitchen of 12ft × 12ft, a smoking room of 11½ft × 16½ft, a tap room of 12ft × 12ft, a club room of 29ft × 12½ft, together with a brewery at the rear.[54] Others had a good number of bedrooms with appropriate stabling: the *Victoria Arms*, Commercial Road, boasted seven bedrooms and stabling for 18 horses,[55] rendering it the equal of many a public house. Measured against such opulence, it is not surprising that very many more beerhouses were refused than were granted a full licence, and that a disappointed applicant should grumble 'This is a bench assembled to refuse rather than to grant them.'[56]

Although the bench did in fact sanction more than 100 full licences between 1858 and 1870, the ground rules involved do not seem to have been entirely manifest either to the trade or the press. The *Hampshire Telegraph* complained that 'The licensing system carried out in Portsmouth is like a lottery box with a few prizes and a great many blanks. If a man obtains a licence he does not know exactly why, and if his application is refused he is in the same condition of ignorance.'[57] Doubtless the criteria included the quality of the beerhouse, its proximity to other drinking facilities having regard to population density, and its reputation. It was, however, the interpretation of these criteria that was the nub of the matter, and applicants and their solicitors harnessed their energies in a truly ingenious, and sometimes bizarre fashion to produce evidence that would cause the rules to be interpreted in their favour. The bench was enjoined to grant a full licence to one beerhouse on the grounds that sailors working in the adjacent government timber yard 'were often thirsty',[58] and to another because it was close to a large brickfield

employing 500 men and brickmaking was known to be 'a very dry operation while in the winter is was very cold'. Presumably spirits as well as beer were required to rectify this difficulty but the application fell following the Chairman's tart comment that 'They do not make bricks in winter.'[59] The solicitor representing the Commercial Road beerhouse, the *Suffolk Arms*, argued that a spirit licence be granted owing to the difficulty of crossing Commercial Road because of the traffic.[60] Whether this was to enable customers to generate sufficient Dutch courage to face the hazard was not clarified, but obviously whisky would achieve what beer could not. In a vain attempt to curry establishment favour, the applicant for the *Three Stags*, Russell Street, opined that with a full licence the house would be 'a great convenience to the Police', whereupon the Chairman attacked both the proposition and the integrity of the Force, remarking 'I think that is scarcely a recommendation. We would keep it away from them lest they should enter into temptation.'[61] Events unlikely to be frequently repeated were seized upon and optimistically adduced in court. A macabre example is that of the deposition for *Our House*, opposite the Highland Road cemetery. 'Bearers at a funeral were taken ill in consequence of having borne the body of a person to the grave in an advanced state of decomposition. The landlord had difficulty in getting spirits for them.'[62] The bench was not impressed. Of greater social significance were arguments that the very grant of a full licence would improve the whole ambience of a beerhouse. 'People did not like to go to such entertainments (dancing and conjuring) in a beerhouse . . . but did not mind . . . a public house.'[63] urged the solicitor appearing for the *Country House*, Mile End. His view was echoed by R. W. Ford who pleaded that vice prevailed in beerhouses to a much greater extent than it did in licensed houses,[64] but this general statement failed to help the case of the *Grantham Arms*. Bringing a flavour of the commercial ethic into proceedings, the brewer Lush offered to give up one of his houses were a full licence granted to the *Eastney Tavern* in 1863.[65] Bargaining of this kind was of no avail, but later in the century it became the very cornerstone of brewers' attempts to open large new public houses.

Of Harrison's three major roles played by drinking places in nineteenth-century society – those of transport centre, recreation centre and meeting place[66] – the second and third were exemplified by the majority of Portsmouth beerhouses and public houses. It was left to the inns of Old Portsmouth and Portsea, together with premises like the *Railway Carrier*, Greetham Street, and the *Sussex Hotel*, associated with railway passenger traffic, and a few others that lined the principal walk-to-work routes in the town, to enjoy all three roles. Judging from large-scale maps and newspaper reports, skittle alleys were a remarkably common recreational characteristic, and applications for their construction were a feature of Council minutes in the late 1860s.[67] Landlords were always prepared to encourage dancing, and indeed the provision of a room often larger than the bar and bar parlour combined was typical by mid-century; the example of the *Briton* has been referred to above. At the *Country House* alterations including the construction of a 'room for dancing, conjuring or other fascinating scenes of a similar character' were made in 1864 at a cost of £1,000.[68] Both the *Florist* and the *Florence Nightingale* beerhouse, East Street, utilised gardens at the rear to diversify facilities offered, the latter house requiring the public to believe that its pleasure gardens would accommodate 1,000 people.[69] The 1850s and 1860s saw the rapid rise in the popularity of the music hall – outside of London there were at least 300 in 1868[70] – and many arose out of enterprising landlords' attempts to encourage trade. Such was the origin of the South of England Music Hall, opened on 20 August 1860 with seating for 3,000. The closure of the Old Theatre, High Street, to allow the construction of the Cambridge Barracks prompted William Brown, landlord of the *Blue Bell*, St Mary Street, to open a small music hall on his premises, and such was its success that he was encouraged to build a much larger structure on the adjacent site.[71] That it was rated at £200 in 1867 and £350 in 1874 is indicative of its size. The original Theatre Royal was built on land owned by the Garrett brewery and was linked by a door to their adjacent *White Swan*. Gates remarks that the music halls at the *Wiltshire Lamb, Cobden Arms* and *Spread Eagle* were 'of the best class of their day and conducted properly'. Not so those in Warblington Street, East Street, Military Row, Catherine Row and Clock Street, which 'were frequently the scene of great disorder'.[72]

Since public buildings were few in number, rendering difficult the hire of a room for meetings of working men, it was inevitable that such gatherings should gravitate to drinking premises where accommodation could normally be had free of charge. Three working men's clubs met regularly at the *Suffolk Arms*, while 60–70 strong meetings of the Oddfellows were held at the *Richmond Arms*, Lake Road.[73] The Manchester Unity Association of Friends used the *Star* beerhouse, Gold Street, for their gatherings. Even temperance societies had recourse to licensed premises, although a fee was made to defray the absence of profit from the sale of alcohol. Meetings of a less formal kind could, in Portsmouth, involve the Navy. The *London Tavern* on The Hard was nothing short of a naval recruiting centre. A beerhouse, it was run by Louisa Walter, about whom it was said in court in 1868 'Scarcely a Captain who entered the port would not speak favourably of her.

She had been the means of causing no less than 26,572 men, besides boys, to join the Navy. If a licence was not granted to her, the interest of the Navy would be injured greatly.'[74] The enormity of the numbers recruited may invite scepticism, but the instance certainly adds to the multiplicity of functions to which licensed premises were put.

Unquestionably the foremost recreational activity associated with drinking houses, more particularly beerhouses, was prostitution. By discouraging servicemen from marrying, government policy itself encouraged landlords in garrison and naval dockyard towns to provide prostitutes.[75] The relationship was explicitly made in 1862 in the report of a committee set up by the War Office to investigate venereal disease in the forces, in which local authorities were taken to task for permitting licensed houses to function as brothels.[76] In fact, it is likely that beerhouse profits might have hinged upon prostitution, and as the solicitor for the *Anerley Arms*, Somers Road, argued in 1866, 'It was almost impossible for beerhouse keepers to live unless they applied their houses for immoral purposes.'[77] Far from being a matter alluded to only in court, the relationship between beer selling and prostitution was public knowledge, as the writings of the Archdeacon of Winchester, Joseph Wigram,[78] and many leaders in the press testify. 'Everybody who knows anything about the matter', wrote the *Hampshire Telegraph* on 3 September 1864, 'knows that the most prolific aids to prostitution and drunkenness in these towns are beerhouses of the lowest class.' It was an effort to curb some of these excesses insofar as they applied to public houses that the Public Housing Closing Act of 1864 required premises in London to close between 1 a.m. and 4 a.m., legislation which was adopted by Portsmouth Borough Council in 1866.[79] The implicit Rabelaisian scene is captured in a letter to the *Hampshire Telegraph* from 'A Ratepayer' living in St Mary' Street, where of

> the seventy-four houses, seven are occupied by licensed victuallers,[80] sixteen are beerhouses, fourteen are licensed refreshment houses, five are private brothels, whilst nearly all the houses in the many courts and alleys adjoining are rented by beerhouse keepers and let in rooms to the unfortunate wretches who frequent their vile dens . . . One scoundrel had the audacity to call his house the 'Infant School'.[81]

The church was equally censorious. The Revd J. H. Gregson was of the opinion that an 'immense amount of prostitution and crime was produced by low beerhouses' and that 'Unfortunately in Portsmouth prostitution and beerselling went hand in hand'.[82] Confirming the view expressed by 'A Ratepayer', the Revd J. C. Martin, perhaps a little too vehemently, argued 'it was well known that there were several thousand licensed houses in the borough which had other houses attached, and in these latter houses prostitution was carried to an alarming extent'.[83] Circumstantial evidence is provided by the enumerator's return for 1861[84] which indicates that lodging houses in St Mary' Street were adjacent to public houses and beerhouses, and that in a number of the latter resided lodgers almost all of whom were unmarried women in their 20s. No less than four such lodgers, whose ages ranged from 22 to 29, were enumerated at the *Queen's Head* beerhouse, and it is not unreasonable to suppose that these young ladies were hardly of independent means.

The activities of prostitutes, coupled with the sharp national increase in per capita beer consumption from 20 gallons in 1855 to 29 gallons in 1867, marshalled public opinion behind the church, social reformers and the temperance movement in favour of rather more radical legislation than restrictions on opening hours. The Wine and Beerhouse Act of 1869, which received all-party support, was the result of these pressures. Beerhouses were brought under the full control of the licensing magistrates, although the 'ante-1869 beerhouses' which had never received magisterial sanction were allowed to remain. No longer could beerhouses spring up willynilly, and the bench took the opportunity to use their new powers to be highly selective of the beerhouses they did support. At the same time, sensing the less permissive sentiments that pervaded society, the Portsmouth bench began to interpret the existing regulations as to disorderly conduct and the assembly of thieves and prostitutes in a much more rigorous fashion, and to close beerhouses on grounds that could have led to their closure before the 1869 Act. As a consequence some 41 beerhouses were refused a licence at the 1869 Brewster Sessions. The *Hampshire Telegraph* was in no doubt as to where the blame lay. The Police should have brought many cases to the notice of the courts than it had done, it argued, declaring that 'the ulcers and excrescences of our social system' revealed in 1869 were nothing less that an 'indictment of Police inefficiency'. The paper asked how a brothel in the High Street, which the Police described as 'an uncommonly bad house', had been allowed to operate for seven years without prosecution. The leader went so far as to doubt whether the magistrates were warranted in acting upon the unsupported evidence of the Police. The brewers, who obviously were only too well aware of events in their houses, were treated more lightly. 'In the case of the brewers, we think that the requirements of the justice would be met with a caution as to future conduct.'[85]

Whatever else, the 1869 Brewster Sessions produced a plethora of evidence about beerhouses and the organisation of prostitution.[86] Referring to the *Bull's Head* beerhouse in the High Street, Inspector Hood stated that it was frequented by prostitutes and soldiers, to which the magistrate retorted 'But can you point out anything unusually bad, because there is scarcely a house where prostitutes do not enter.' By inspection of the rate books by the Police, many landlords were found to be the tenants of adjoining properties. George Pitt at the *Fortune of War* in Prospect Row had four adjacent 'tenements' all used as brothels, but Mr. Russell, brewer and owner of the beerhouse, professed complete ignorance of such activities. Prostitutes were shown to live, and presumably work at the *Cock Inn* beerhouse in High Street, and when it was time to close they moved to nearby houses controlled by the landlord. In one case the attached brothel was run by the landlord's sister-in-law, and the method of attracting custom to the *Queen's Head* was for prostitutes to stand in the doorway and solicit passing men. Since the defence offered by the house was that it was conducted in the same way as others in St Mary's Street, it may be assumed that these practices were widespread. At the *Battle of Inkerman*, William Newton specialised in the provision of young girls, thus occasioning no surprise that the house should have been known as the 'Infant School'. Young girls predominated at the *Good Intent*, Church Path, and that some were employed in local corset factories suggests that prostitution may not always have been a full-time occupation. A comment on the contemporary role of women in a different context was the refusal of the bench to entertain applications from married women, doubtless since the family rather than business was seen to be their concern. By contrast, widows and young women, such as Mary Stregnell, who at the age of 21 was granted a full licence for the *Surprise*, Baker Street, were acceptable to the male view of the manner in which society should be structured.

Beerhouses Controlled 1869–1900

If the beerhouse era was characterised by the rapid growth of beerhouses and the grant of a full licence to a good many of them, the remaining years of the century witnessed no such hectic activity, despite the constantly increasing population, although there was a slight decrease in the long term trend in the per capita consumption of beer after 1876.

As Table 2 illustrates, there was a contraction of fully licensed premises and beerhouses alike, the latter disappearing at an appreciably faster speed consequent upon the 1869 Act and society's growing unease on the drink issue.[87] From their high peak in 1869 to the end of the century, beerhouses were reduced by one-fifth, but they

Table 2

Public Houses and Beerhouses in Portsmouth 1875–1900

	Public Houses	On-Licensed Beerhouses
1875	332	526*
1879	333	525*
1885	329	522*
1890	329	506*
1896	318	487
1900	318	459

*Data calculated from press reports. Other figures cited at Annual Licensing Sessions, see successive issues, *Hampshire Telegraph*

nevertheless continued to outnumber public houses by a ratio of 1:1½, in contrast to the national situation which saw three public houses to every beerhouse. Set against this criterion, beerhouses remained as distinctive a feature of Portsmouth as they had been prior to 1869, and it was their presence in such abundance that sustained the high density of drinking facilities in the borough. Using data for 1896, Harrison shows that Leeds had 345 persons per 'pub', Liverpool 279, Birmingham 215, Sheffield 176 and Manchester 168.[88] Assuming that Harrison's 'pubs' are public houses and on-licensed beerhouses, Portsmouth returned a score of 190 for 1891; if off-licensed beerhouses are included the figure fell to 171, but in either case it is clear that the town had much to offer the dedicated drinker.

Contrary to expectations, the 1869 Act did not usher in a complete moratorium on the grant of beerhouse licences. Perhaps unused to their new found authority, the bench was persuaded to approve four of the 22 applications for a beerhouse licence in 1870, but as though they had second thoughts on the matter, they then proceeded to reject all further beerhouse proposals, going as far as to declare in 1878 that in future no beerhouse on-licences would be granted.[89] They were effectively true to their word, for those beerhouses that were subsequently authorised either received their licence as a transfer from another house, or had previously existed as refreshment houses or off-licences. The *Taswell Arms*, Taswell Road, was such a transfer in 1885, the *Duchess of Edinburgh*, Queen Street, exchanged its refreshment house licence for a beer licence in the same year, while the *Spotted Cow*, North End Avenue, had until 1889 operated as an off-licence. These successful negotiations were for the most part undertaken by brewers, who were perpetuating the strategy developed in the 1860s of buying into beerhouses

in order to secure a subsequent full licence. In the event the ploy did not prove especially rewarding, and the *Spotted Cow* was one of the few to secure swift promotion, in 1894, and even the prestigious weight of Pike Spicer failed to achieve a spirit licence for the *Taswell Arms* until 1905.

Now that they could dictate terms to the trade, the magistrates were able to implement their twin aims of a reduction in the number and an improvement in the quality of drinking places. Their plan was simple. The minimum rating threshold was raised, forcing the seedier beerhouses either to undertake improvement or go out of business. Beerhouses were given twelve months to complete the necessary alterations and were granted an interim conditional licence. Independently owned beerhouses found it difficult to raise sufficient capital for rebuilding, encouraging brewers to take over the premises. There was inevitably a spate of this activity in the 1870s, and at the 1872 Brewster Sessions, for instance, 21 conditional licences were granted to beerhouses. In order to secure a rating above £15, Mansbridge, the brewer, was obliged to pull down the *Spread Eagle* beerhouse in North Street, and rebuild at a cost of £300, while Palmer's beerhouse in Hampshire Street was enlarged by the simple expedient of incorporating the cartshed into the premises. The strategy appears to have worked, for most of the conditional licences were confirmed at the 1873 Brewster Sessions. A similar approach was employed in respect of spirit licences, for which the minimum threshold was set at a rate of £50 in 1872.[90] Applicants were thus provided with a useful guideline with respect to the size of property, but success was increasingly the province of the brewers.

Having full control over beerhouses, the magistrates could now afford to be parsimonious in the grant of a spirit licence to existing beerhouses. No longer were public houses created as a purely defensive strategy, but rather as part of a carefully planned programme. Having sanctioned more than 100 spirit licences in favour of beerhouses between 1859 and 1869, the bench granted a mere 17 in the following three decades. At the same time applications for newly built public houses were more favourably regarded, in complete contrast with the policy effected in the earlier period, when only three received magisterial support. As in the case of potential beerhouse owners, the 1870s held very little for existing beerhouse interests, the sole exception being the *Claremont Hotel*, Commercial Road, which secured a full licence in 1870. It was not until 1880 that a further beerhouse, the *Elms Hotel*, Elm Grove, was upgraded, and only in the mid-1880s was there a perceptible relaxation of what the trade doubtless regarded as the miserly attitude of the bench.

As Table 3 illustrates, some 15 beerhouses were granted permission to sell spirits between 1886 and 1900. Indicative of their success in achieving the translation was their size and location, the one being a function of the other, for a site on a main thoroughfare was conducive to custom which in turn justified the expenditure of capital on a substantial property. Cases in point were the *Clarence Hotel*, later the *King's Hotel*, Albert Road (1886), rebuilt by Peters at a cost of £2,000, the *Magpie*, Fratton Road (1893), designed by the local architect A. H. Bone,[91] the *Yorkshire Grey*, Commercial Road (1896) rebuilt for Peters at a cost of £3,500 by A. H. Bone,[92] and the *British Queen*, Queen's Road, also 1896. Others may have been more subdued, but they were all sited on key routes. Thus the *Criterion* (1887), *Lennox Arms* (1888) and *Pelican* (1890) on Commercial Road, the *Victoria*, later the *Surrey Arms*, Surrey Street (1891), just off Commercial Road, the *Derby Tavern*, Stamshaw Road (1889), the *Plough and Barleycorn*, Lake Road (1896), and the *Kingston Tavern*, Kingston Road (1898). The cost involved in the rebuilding of these beerhouses enabling them to qualify for full licence status was such that they were without exception in the possession of brewers at the time of their promotion. Even the alterations to the modestly sized *Derby Tavern* cost the brewer Gibb £1,300,[93] and to add to the aura of respectability, architects were employed for alterations, however trivial. A. E. Cogswell was responsible for the interior changes at the *Derby Tavern*, and the same architect drew up the plans for the alterations to the *Kingston Tavern*, estimated at £800.[94] Yet such was the speed of change that in only two instances had brewers been involved in beerhouse construction in the 1850s and 1860s.

Table 3

Full Licences Granted 1870–1900

	1870–5	1876–80	1881–5	1886–90	1891–5	1896–1900	Total
To beerhouses	1	1	–	7	3	5	17
To new houses	1	1	2	7	9	8	28

Source: Press reports of Annual Licensing Sessions

THE GEORGE AND DRAGON, *Kingston Road, This Pike Spicer house was very different from Cogswell's 1913 rebuild.* Courtesy Whitbread Wessex.

THE TALBOT, *Goldsmith Avenue, 1896. An excellent example of Cogswell's half-timbered style.* Courtesy Whitbread Wessex.

THE WHITE HART HOTEL, *Kingston Crescent. A small house nevertheless boasting a coach entrance.* Courtesy Whitbread Wessex.

THE DAIRYMEN'S ARMS, *Church Road, Landport. A beerhouse fashioned from existing terraced houses, complete with entrance to the former dairy.* Courtesy Whitbread Wessex.

THE BRITON TAVERN, *Harley Street, Fratton. A typical street corner house and one of the first to be owned by Brickwood.* Courtesy Whitbread Wessex.

THE FALCON, *King's Road, Southsea, 1892. A house that made the most of a tiny site by emphasising its height.* Courtesy Whitbread Wessex.

THE GRANADA HOTEL, *Granada Road, Southsea. The ground floor extension of 1881 was among the first of its kind in Portsmouth.* Courtesy Whitbread Wessex.

THE FLYING SQUADRON, *Lake Road. An attractive beerhouse formerly owned by Pike Spicer.* Courtesy Whitbread Wessex.

The second strand of the process giving rise to new drinking facilities was the construction of new public houses, as opposed to the issue of a full licence to existing beerhouses. In many ways the difference between the two categories is artificial, since upgraded beerhouses had invariably been subject to structural alterations prior to their successful application. There was similarity in respect of the date of opening, for it is clear from Table 3 that the great majority of new public houses were also built in the last 15 years of the century. Only the *Elephant and Castle*, Sultan Road (1877), the first new fully licensed house to be built in the borough for 17 years, the *Winchester Arms*, Winchester Road (1881), and the *Priory Hotel*, Montgomerie Road (1884), fell outside this period. *Smith's Temperance Hotel*, Commercial Road, was paradoxically granted a full licence in 1874, but it had been standing for some time prior to this date; its name was changed more appropriately to *Dive*, and later *Mighty Fine*. The new houses were also substantial structures, built to impress local residents and indeed to dominate adjacent housing terraces. Costs exclusive of the purchase of land were normally in excess of £1,500, but on occasion were substantially above this figure: *Mother Shipton*, Twyford Avenue (1887), for instance, cost £2,000, the *Graham Arms*, George Street (1900) came to £2,200, and Cogswell's *Pompey*, Frogmore Road (1900) cost Brickwood £2,400. Lavish expenditure and the use of architects who espoused eclecticism in no small way created a series of public houses which dwarfed the drinking places of earlier years and which, by their idiosyncratic architecture contrasted violently with the inns of Old Portsmouth. A. H. Bone's half-timbered *Fawcett Inn*, Fawcett Road (1886) and his *Mother Shipton*, C. W. Ball's multi-pedimented *New Roebuck*, New Road (1887), and the many half-timbered houses by the prolific A. E. Cogswell such as the *Pelham*, Chichester Road (1894), the *Rutland Hotel*, Francis Avenue (1898) and the *Talbot*, Goldsmith Avenue (1896), together with those he designed in other styles, for instance his Queen Anne-like *Graham Arms*, combined to make the public house arguably the most distinctive architectural feature of Portsmouth's late Victorian working class housing areas. Other local architects making a more muted contribution included A. Hudson, who designed the *Winchester Arms* and the *Priory Hotel*, C. W. Bevis, who was responsible for the *Central Hotel*, Commercial Road (1893), and Vernon Inkpen, architect of the *Fratton Hotel*, Fratton Road (1900). Doubtless because of the relatively onerous financial requirements, these new houses were in the hands of Portsmouth's largest brewers. Between them, Pike Spicer, with ten houses, and Brickwood, with seven, were alone responsible for the construction of almost two-thirds of the total, a share which was indicative of both the concentration of economic power and the remarkably rapid emergence of the Brickwood brothers.[95] The increasing scale of operations also permeated the acquisition of sites. Builders had long earmarked sites for drinking houses and the large property companies responsible for much of the development of the new suburbia acted similarly. Surviving plans for the development of land to the west of Twyford Avenue by the United Land Co. Ltd., show two sites, nos 48 and 329, as 'Hotel Plots'. However, the company overestimated its proposed drinking capacity in relation to the number of dwelling houses it built, and while the sale of plot 48 to Brickwood resulted in the *Mother Shipton*, the same brewer was never able to secure a licence for plot 329 on Walker Road.[96] In terms of location the new houses were also to be found on important routeways, but they differed from the former beerhouses in that many were associated with housing estates built after 1869, while beerhouses were effectively restricted to parts of the town developed prior to this date. It was this suburban location in a working class town, coupled with their size and flamboyant visual impact that endowed the new public houses with such distinction. Indeed, Dixon and Muthesius use the *Rutland Hotel* as the national example of the genre in their book on Victorian architecture.[97]

However much the Portsmouth drinking scene was being transformed by the emergence of these palatial houses, in one sense the process was made possible by the presence of the humble beerhouse, whose influence remained throughout the century. In the aftermath of the 1869 Act and the subsequent raising of the rating qualification, it became apparent to brewers that the acquisition of both beerhouses and fully licensed premises was a sensible ploy to improve their market share. Left to themselves independent houses might fail to satisfy the justices and retail outlets would be lost. There was a further advantage in a policy of acquisition, for permission to extend existing premises appears to have been a formality and a great many old properties were so improved, rendering them more attractive to customers. Furthermore, a rebuilt beerhouse might conceivably be granted a full licence. There was therefore a quickening interest in beerhouses in the 1870s and 1880s, with independent ownership falling sharply from 73 per cent of the total in 1869 to 51 per cent in 1875, in consequence of the wholesale closure of independent beerhouses after 1869, followed by a more gradual contraction to 38 per cent in 1880, 24 per cent in 1885 and 20 per cent in 1890. By 1900 only 13 per cent of beerhouses were autonomous, a figure exactly matching the proportion of public houses independent of the brewers. A few firms appeared content to retain a high proportion of beerhouses to public houses. The classic instance

was Young who owned five fully licensed houses throughout the period, but followed a policy of increasing their portfolio of beerhouses from 32 in 1875 to 46 in 1900; Jewell had a ratio of 35 beerhouses to six public houses when the firm was taken over by Brickwood in 1899. The majority of brewers, with the notable exception of Pike Spicer, who eschewed involvement almost entirely, acquired beerhouses in smaller relative numbers. Long, the largest owner in 1900 with 61 beerhouses, had 18 public houses; Brickwood possessed 60 beerhouses and 74 public houses; Peters had but four beerhouses as against 23 full lincences. That Peters had so few beerhouses reflected the firm's principal business as wine and spirit merchants. Beerhouses were valuable not only for the reasons advanced above, but also for use in the striking of wholly unofficial bargains with the licensing magistrates. It was in this way that beerhouses were able to influence the development of the suburban public house.

The start point of the scheme by which beerhouses were employed as expendable assets by brewers seeking permission for large new suburban premises seems to have been the 1879 Brewster Sessions. In rejecting an application by Pike Spicer to build in Broad Street, the bench stated that it did not think the neighbourhood sufficiently populous to justify the grant of a new licence, though at all times it was willing to allow licences to be transferred from overcrowded locations to new premises.[98] This prompted Pike Spicer to offer to close two of their houses in Barrack Street in return for a full licence for the *Priory Hotel*. This successful application established the going rate for the next decade, so that when Brickwood applied in 1885 for the transfer of their licence for the *Marquis of Lorne*, Wickham Street, to Fawcett Road, it was refused as too ungenerous. Reading the signs correctly, the firm improved their offer the following year, throwing in the closure of the *Battle of the Nile*, Nile Street, in addition, and permission for the *Fawcett Inn* was theirs. Initially brewers offered up public houses for closure, and although they were in all probability small and of marginal profitability, they were more of an asset than beerhouses. Once Lush's offer in 1886 of the surrender of the *Excellent* beerhouse, North Street, in combination with the transfer of the full licence from the *East and West Country House*, Bath Square, to the *Railway Hotel*, Claremont Terrace, had been accepted, beerhouses were increasingly employed as sacrificial cows. The *Mother Shipton*, the *Connaught Hotel*, Guildford Road (1890), the *Stag*, New Road, by Bone in 1892, and the *Nell Gwynne*, Jessie Road, also by Bone in the same year, were all secured, *inter alia*, by the closure of beerhouses in old parts of the borough. The principle was similarly applied to beerhouses in receipt of full licences, but since in these cases the transfer of a spirit licence was not normally required, two beerhouses had to be sacrificed. In this way the *Victoria Hotel*, Hampshire Terrace, attained public house status in 1890 through the surrender of the *Lion* beerhouse, Commercial Road, and the *Rob Roy* beerhouse in Hanover Street.

The 1890s saw a hardening of the magistrates' policies. On the one hand they let it be known that they were concerned with the poor state of repair characteristic of many beerhouses in the town, and requested the Chief Constable to report on those falling below the required standard.[99] On the other it became apparent that they considered the going rate for a full licence of the surrender of one beerhouse, together with the transfer of the licence from an old public house to be insufficient. The *Festing Hotel*, Festing Road, secured its licence in 1894 through the surrender of two beerhouses and the transfer of the licence from the *Buckingham Arms*, Craswell Street. Brickwood may have been a trifle fortunate, for in the same year Peters had to give up four beerhouses for the *Stamshaw Hotel*, although no transfer of a spirit licence

THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM, *High Street. A typical old established public house of modest architectural merit.* Courtesy Portsmouth City Records Office.

was involved. This set the pattern for the remaining years of the century, and where a brewer was unwilling to surrender a full licence he would be obliged to close four on-licensed premises, usually beerhouses, or an approximately equivalent combination thereof. An extensive rebuild of a beerhouse combined with the grant of a full licence also required the surrender of four on-licences, an example being the *Yorkshire Grey*. An off-licence seems to have been equated with a beerhouse, and both the *Shearer Arms* and the *Graham Arms* secured the magistrates' blessing on the strength of the surrender of three beerhouses and one off-licence. Pike Spicer's strategy of ignoring beerhouses now proved inconvenient for them if not for society, for they were forced to surrender spirit licences, on the same numerical basis as other firms relinquished beerhouses, in order to expand in the suburbs. Their *Rutland Hotel* cost them four public houses, but since the majority of their premises were old, it is arguable that they were no loss to the community. Peters had also evinced little interest in beerhouses and in the 1890s had to enter the market, even to the extent of buying from other brewers, merely to surrender them to meet the justices' wishes. Certainly the most satisfactory coup on the part of the justices was the surrender of no less than four beerhouses and one off-licence at Gibb's expense in return for the *Byron Arms* in 1899. It is clear from the consistency with which the scheme operated that both sides must have reached some kind of tacit agreement. While there was no overt declaration of the parameters, as occurred in Birmingham, where the number of on-licences to be surrendered for each category of application was actually published,[100] the system must have reduced the number of abortive applications, at the same time minimising the drawing up of fruitless plans and legal documentation. However, this did not prevent brewers from persistently applying for licences for sites that the magistrates evidently regarded as unsuitable; an outstanding example was the site at the junction of Gladys Avenue and Twyford Avenue opposite the recreation ground, for which Peters, Young and United Breweries all submitted applications, but which was eventually used as a vehicle turning point by the Corporation Passenger Transport Department.

As a consequence of the unofficial on-licence surrender scheme, the number of beerhouses contracted sharply after 1890, no less than 51 being voluntarily closed in the following decade. At the same time only 15 public houses licences were surrendered, illustrating the value of the beerhouse as a bargaining weapon. The bulk of the beerhouse closures took place in Landport and Southsea, rather than in Old Portsmouth and Portsea, as a comparison between Figures 1, 2 and 3 reveals. This differentiation stemmed from two reasons. Firstly, public houses were more numerous in the older localities since drinking facilities there had largely been established before the beerhouse age, with the result that there were relatively fewer beerhouses to be shut. Secondly, it had been the older parts of the town that had been most severely hit by the welter of beerhouse closures at the time of the 1869 Act. No less than 19 of the 22 beerhouses closing down between 1867 and 1906 in that part of Southsea mapped in Figure 3 did so following the surrender of their licence; not a single public house shut its doors in this period, for as has been argued above, brewers obliged to offer up spirit licences selected elderly properties in Old Portsmouth and Portsea. The demise of so many beerhouses in the last years of the century allows the completion of the beerhouse life-cycle model, the first stages of which were constructed in an earlier section. From a sample of beerhouses in the older part of Southsea, two paths emerge, both of almost equal frequency. Firstly, the property could become a dwelling house, a change that would not call for undue modification since most beerhouses were originally terraced houses. Those beerhouses that had been extended to include an adjacent property sometimes reverted to the original division. Secondly, there might be a relatively simple switch from the sale of beer to other forms of retailing. General shops and greengrocers were the most common subsequent uses, a predictable finding since these shops were those most frequently located in working class districts. Other more sporadic retailing functions included a cobbler at the former *Duke of Norfolk*, Hyde Park Road, a tobacconist at the former *Britannia*, Somers Road, while somewhat surprisingly a jeweller traded at the site of the exotically named *Help the Lame Dog over the Stile*, St Paul's Road.

The contraction in the number of beerhouses and the construction of large new public houses should not mask the continuous process of alteration and rebuilding of existing facilities, whether they be fully licensed or otherwise, which was arguably the most significant visible trend during the last two decades of the century. To retain and increase custom, the trade sought to render its houses more distinctive, giving rise to a popular architecture which, because it had to appeal to working class tastes, tended towards the garish and the spectacular. Equally critical was the interior which sought to insulate the customer from reality and was as a consequence 'all glore, glitter and rattle', as Girouard aptly remarks.[101] The outcome of these pressures may be charted in the successful applications to the Town Council for building permission. It should be stressed that the scale of the alterations in each application is by no means clear and it is not always possible to distinguish between trivial and thoroughgoing changes, but the number of applications nevertheless pro-

Fig. 1 Public Houses and Beerhouses in Portsmouth in 1867 and 1906.

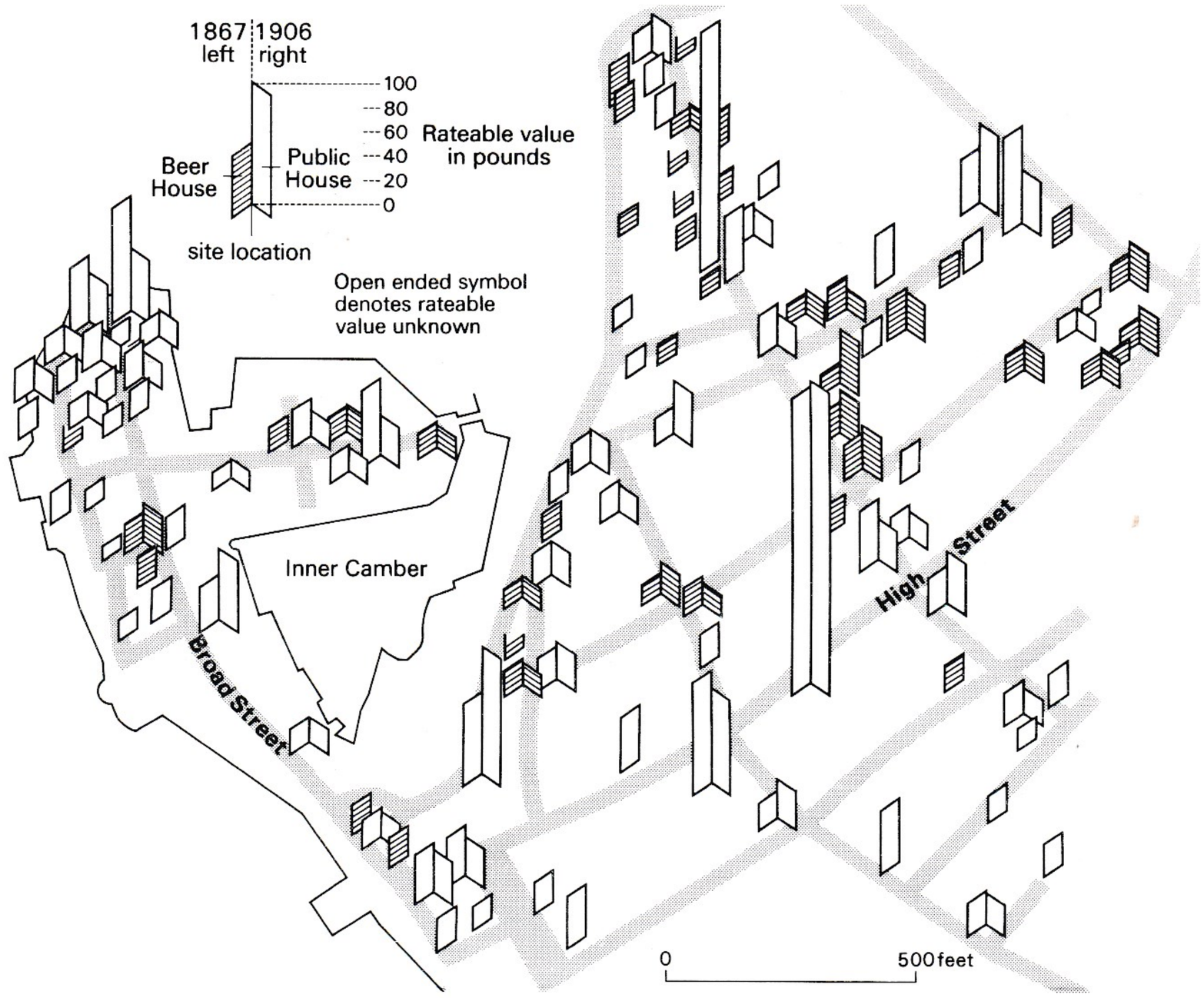


Fig. 2 Public Houses and Beerhouses in Portsea in 1867 and 1906. The railway to Portsmouth Harbour was opened in 1876.

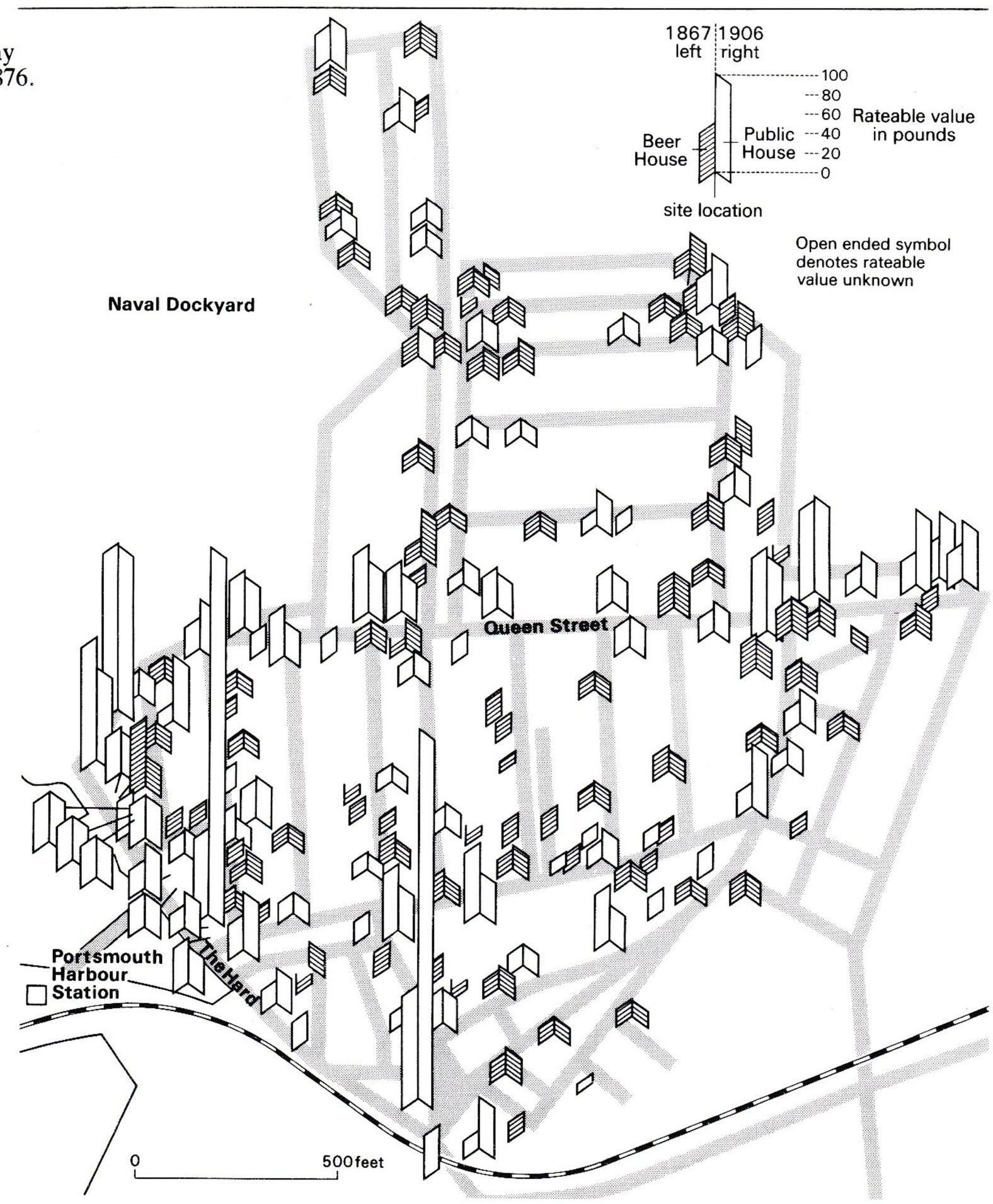
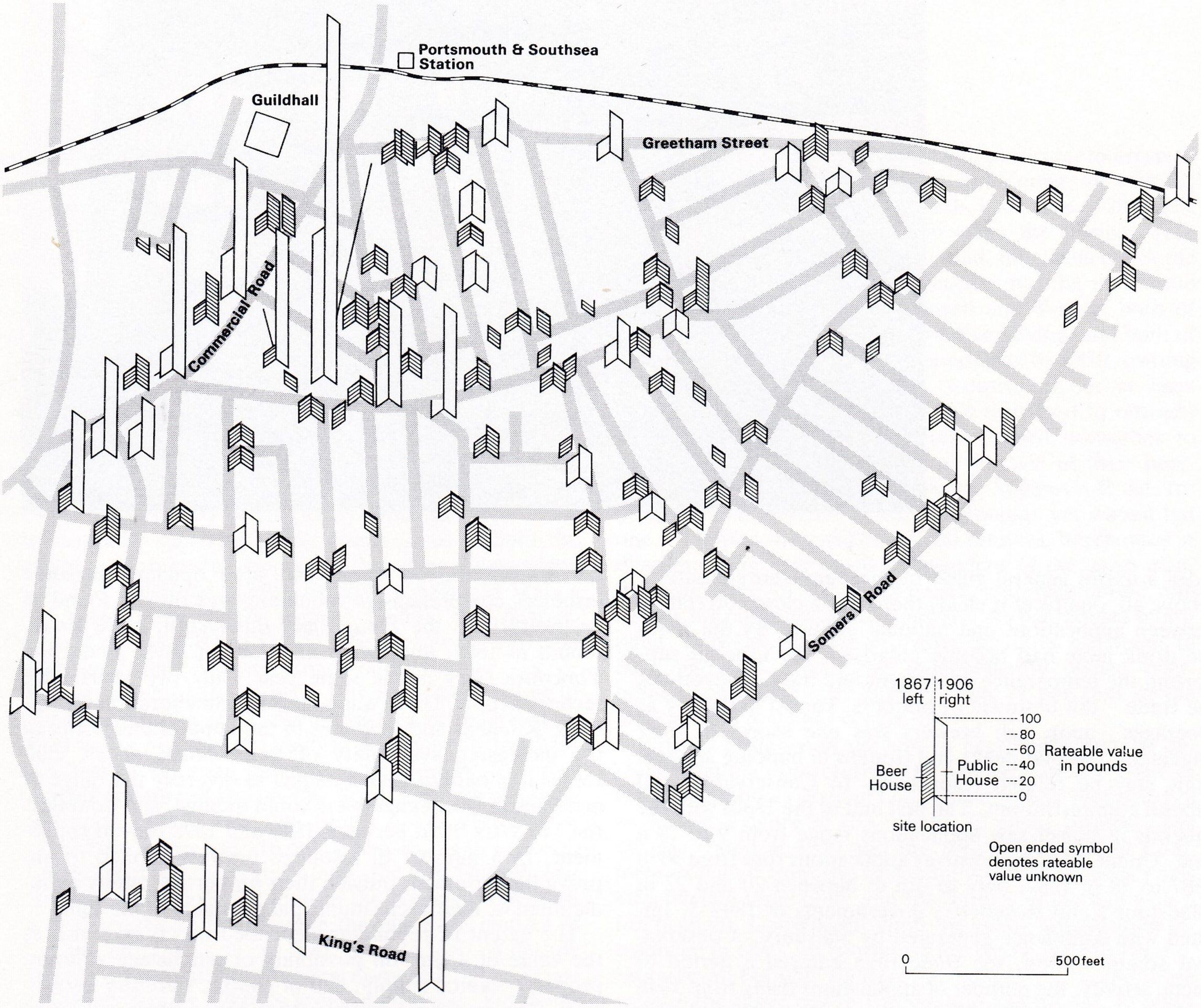


Fig. 3 Public Houses and Beerhouses in part of Southsea in 1867 and 1906.



vides a useful general guide to structural reorganisation. Above all, one facet is clear, there was a close correlation between applications and national politics. By the 1880s the drink issue had become polarised, the Liberals supporting the temperance movement and the Conservatives the trade – the bestowal of honours, known derisively as 'beerages', upon rich brewers was one aspect of their alignment – so that peaks and troughs in building applications may be related respectively to Conservative and Liberal administrations. The first half of the 1880s with the Liberals in power saw applications range from 9 to 18 a year. Under the Conservatives applications rose from 30 in 1887 to 48 in 1889, only to dip to between 20 and 22 in Gladstone's and Rosebery's governments of 1892–5. Imbued with confidence generated by Salisbury's Conservative administration, the trade then entered a period of hectic activity, the number of applications rising from 54 in 1895 to a peak of 137 in 1897, falling to 78 in 1898 and 49 in 1900.[102] Since 87 of the applications in 1897 were for the installation of WCs, it should not be supposed that building reached panic proportions in that year, but the nature of the work is at least a comment on the previously inadequate provision of such facilities.

Increasing competition and the justices' policy of encouraging improvement engendered changes, not only in scale but also of image. The addition of stables and coachhouses created a middle class aura and was an attempt to widen the social class of customers. The *Granada*, Granada Road, had a coach house added in 1870, underwent alterations in 1881, stables were built in 1887, in the same year there were further alterations and in 1899 a scullery was put in. The *Blue Anchor* at Kingston Cross was modified in 1870, had a coachhouse added in 1880 and was rebuilt in 1884 for Peters by Cogswell. So important did stables come to be that they were sometimes added even after major expenditure on new houses, as happened at the *Mother Shipton* three years after opening. In some instances comprehensive rebuilding was rapidly found to be insufficient: the *Plough and Barleycorn*, Lake Road, rebuilt in 1894, underwent additions in 1898, as did the *Yorkshire Grey* in the same year, only two years after reconstruction. There was a constant amelioration of facilities. Kitchens and sculleries in the applications testify to the increasing availability of food, skittle alleys, club rooms and billiard rooms helped to diversify the range of activities in which customers could indulge, and doubtless the 140 WCs fitted between 1896 and 1898 proved convenient. In a number of instances brewers applied to improve the pavement outside their properties, surely an indictment of indifferent municipal provision at the time.

The extent of rebuilding depended on criteria such as the value of a site, on possibility of purchasing adjacent property, capital supply, and of course, statutory permission. The consequence was that the process exhibited great variation, but notwithstanding, a synthetic taxonomy may be advanced. Firstly, and most simply, alterations could be made to the structure facing on to the street at ground floor level. Secondly, the entire front might be rebuilt and a visible distinction made between adjoining properties by raising the roof level or introducing a parapet above the former gutter-line, together with a greatly increased size of window to emphasise height. An old photograph of the *Stage Coach* beerhouse, Gloucester Street, depicts these characteristics.[103] The third strategy was lateral extension by the acquisition of adjoining property, often to create a structure double the width of a dwelling house; six such extensions were approved in 1889 alone.[104] When the drinking place held a corner site, properties on both sides were commonly absorbed, giving rise to the typical street corner beerhouse or public house of which examples were legion. Examples include the *Royal Albert*, Albert Road, rebuilt in 1897, the *Barleycorn*,

THE BLUE ANCHOR HOTEL, *Kingston Crescent, 1884. Cogswell's first public house but his characteristics are already apparent.* Courtesy Terry Swetnam.

Great Southsea Street (1898), and the *Cambridge Arms*, Somers Road (1899). Occasionally an architect was retained for the work; the *Coppersmiths' Arms*, Lake Road, was rebuilt in 1886 by Ball for Long in the firm's house style of a series of light-coloured stone courses.[105] Fourthly, the ground floor might be extended laterally or forwards, in the latter case creating a palpable architectural dichotomy when viewed from the other side of the street. The classic example is the *Hearts of Oak*, Commercial Road, by Cogswell for Brickwood in 1897. The architect carried out his first experiments in ceramic work on this extension, using deep brown glazed brick faience and enamelled mosaic supplied by Carter's of Poole.[106] The attention to detail was striking, with festoons entwining the lettering in distinctly *art nouveau* fashion. Demolished in 1974, the facade has been stored by the City Museum. A second, though more restrained example is the *Dog and Duck*, Fratton Road. Fifthly, a storey might be added to generate a more powerful impression together with more capacious accommodation, but frequently this ploy was associated with a complete rebuild, the sixth option. Substantial rebuilds were numerous, and inevitably their size and characteristics replicated those of the new public houses, so that it is today sometimes difficult to distinguish between the two categories. Structures such as Cogswell's *Crystal Palace Hotel*, Fawcett Road, rebuilt in 1888, his *Blue Anchor, Bedford Hotel*, Commercial Road (1892), *Black Dog*, Arundel Street (1899) and *Borough Arms*, St Paul's Road (1900), Bone's *Air Balloon*, Commercial Road (1888) and his *Yorkshire Grey*, and the *Eldon Arms*, Eldon Street, by A. E. Guy in 1899 are ample testimony to brewers' efforts to improve their houses and perhaps coincidentally, the urban environment as well.

Of the nine local architects known to have worked on drinking houses, unquestionably the greatest contribution was made by Arthur Edward Cogswell, 1858–1934. Apprenticed to George Rake, who was at one time in partnership with Thomas Ellis Owen, Cogswell's first brewery commission was the *Blue Anchor* for Peters in 1884, followed by the *Railway Hotel* for Lush and the *Crystal Palace Hotel*, again for Peters. He was already seeking to achieve an elaborate skyline, something for which he became especially noted through his later use of the gambrel-roofed turret, known locally as a witch's hat. Other characteristic features were elliptical window arches, exaggerated keystones, Renaissance-style scrolling and extensive use of half-timbering.[107] These characteristics were first found together in his *Talbot* for Brickwood, opened in 1896. His experimentation with faience at the *Hearts of Oak* has been mentioned above. Cogswell's nineteenth century output included new houses and rebuilds, the balance between the two entirely reflecting the importance of the latter in Portsmouth. Between 1887 and 1900 he was responsible for 17 rebuilds and other work and for eight new houses, the details of which are set out in Appendix 1.[108] The late Victorian remodelling mania also provided builders with useful contracts, although rearmament ushered in boom conditions for the building trade. The practice was for the actual building work to be put out to tender, but local firms seem to have predominated. An examination of the applications made to the Roads and Works Committee in 1895 reveals that the firm of J. Croad secured four of the nine contracts against which the builder's name is indicated; other firms were J. H. Corke, J. W. Dowdell, T. P. Hall, H. Jones and J. Smith, all of Portsmouth.[109]

Locationally, the rebuilding process was far from uniform, as Figures 1, 2 and 3 suggest. Employing change in rateable values as a surrogate, rebuilding had a barely perceptible impact upon Old Portsmouth, and very much the same situation obtained in Portsea. Out of 58 drinking places in Old Portsmouth, a mere two were sufficiently modified between 1867 and 1906 to justify a doubling of their rateable value; in Portsea seven of a total of 125 fell into this category, and it is arguable that the *Keppel's Head* and *Totterdell's Hotel* should be excluded since they were not strictly public houses. Substantial rebuilding, defined as a more than threefold increase in the rate, was undertaken only at the *Naval Hotel*, Wickham Street, the *Three Guns*, St George's Square, and at the *Still Tavern*, Kent Street. Reflecting the shift in the commercial and retailing centre of gravity away from the two older areas of the borough, rebuilding activity in that part of Southsea mapped in Figure 3 was dramatically different. Some 20 from a total of 139 houses more than doubled their rateable value, and of these no less than ten were substantially rebuilt, as defined. In some instances the scale of change was quite remarkable: the rebuild of the *Yorkshire Grey* caused a ninefold rise in its rate, from £18 to £170, the *Golden Fleece*, Commercial Road, experienced a sixfold increase, and the *Victoria Hotel*, Hampshire Terrace, saw its rate augment by a factor of five. Both the *Castle Tavern*, Somers Road, and the *Clarendon Arms*, Hampshire Terrace, suffered fourfold rises in their rateable values. Other substantial rebuilds included Bone's attractive *White Swan*, bearing a distinct resemblance to his *Air Balloon* at the opposite end of Commercial Road. There was a clear emphasis on Commercial Road and adjacent thoroughfares as the brewers, as sensitive as anyone to the changing spatial habits of the drinking public, sought to compete for the potential custom that thronged the central artery of the town. Old Portsmouth and Portsea were seen as backwaters. Not only was rebuilding muted, but also properties were allowed to deteriorate to such an extent

that it seems likely that brewers were simply waiting for an opportunity to trade them off against larger houses elsewhere. Almost half of Old Portsmouth's drinking houses actually experienced a reduction in their rateable value between 1867 and 1906; one third of Portsea's complement experienced this phenomenon. By contrast, in Southsea, with an altogether newer and thrusting image, a mere one-ninth of drinking places declined in value.

The construction of new houses, rebuilding of many and the gradual removal of the seedier premises contributed to the reduction in the level of depravity so evident in the 1860s. There was an overall decline in the convictions for drunkenness as the standard of living slowly improved, as conditions of work became less satanic and as the opportunities for leisure diversified. Perhaps the patronising claim by the Sheffield Town Council that drunkenness was caused by 'the want of cheap and moral amusements for the working classes' was not so wide of the mark, although their suggestion that the provision of halls for concerts and lectures, a free library and a museum would provide a complete solution is doubtful.[110] Yet ironically, as conditions improved, so support for the temperance movement grew and by 1889, in one of their regular pleas to the bench at the Brewster Session, the City of Portsmouth Temperance League was able to claim the existence of no less than 34 temperance societies in the borough.[111] Alert to shifting attitudes, speculative building companies began to regard the exclusion of drinking facilities from even artisan estates as a profitable strategy, hence their notable absence from St Peter's Park, the 50 acre plot to the east of Somers Road developed after 1875[112] (see Figure 3). Temperance workers might have been tactically at fault by being largely concerned to reduce the number of drinking houses while the brewers were aiming to increase their size, but their impact was undeniable. Applications for new licences were consistently opposed by both the temperance societies and the church, together with brewers and tenants of existing nearby houses fearing a loss of trade. Opposition gathered force with the acceptance by the Liberals of the desirability of a drastic reduction in drinking facilities and with the appointment of Father Robert Dolling to St Agatha's in 1885. An unusually forceful priest, Dolling almost single-handed mounted an unrelenting attack upon the trade and its associations. He fulminated that 'the public house is never by itself. Close to it – perhaps on either side of it – are haunts of shame and evil,'[113] at the same time lamenting the lack of support he received: 'Oh, that the bishops had the energy of the brewers!' He deeply offended the brewers and the Town Council when his remark that 'most naval towns, Portsmouth among them, were sinks of iniquity' was taken up by the national press. For all his enthusiasm, he achieved scant success in reducing the number of licences, indeed on occasion he appears to have aided the brewers rather than his own cause. His perorations on his discoveries of the extent of vice in Portsea's drinking places were enormously popular, and one gentleman is reported to have attended the meetings and taken copious notes which he used to read in place of a Sunday newspaper, the ensuing saving being spent on a pint of ale to aid intellectual digestion.[114] It was not the church and the temperance bodies that could claim direct success, theirs was an individual contribution in securing national political support for their beliefs. Major change was engineered at Westminster through the Liberal party and such voices as that of Sir William Harcourt, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who attacked the Portsmouth bench for being prepared to sanction the existence of 15 drinking places out of a total of 27 buildings on The Hard.[115] Legislation enacted in the Edwardian period was to reduce this ratio in what the temperance groups christened 'the Devil's Acre' and in other parts of the town; once more it was Portsmouth's beerhouses that formed the *modus operandi*.

THE CRYSTAL PALACE HOTEL, *Fawcett Road, 1888. Cogswell in a restrained mood.* Courtesy Terry Swetnam.

Conclusion

In an era firmly wedded to free competition, there can have been few, if any other sectors of economic activity, certainly in retailing, where there was such insistent government and municipal interference with the laissez-faire ethic. But the sale of drink was a special case, for here morals were involved, entitling the leaders of society to hand down their standards to the *hoi polloi*. As a consequence drinking houses became an interface between authority, in the form of the justices and the Police, and the working classes, although this did not prevent the emergence of strands of working class culture such as the music hall. At the centre of drink retailing in Portsmouth for two-thirds of the century was the beerhouse, a phenomenon that curiously did not arise from the interaction of supply and demand, as other shops developed from the early markets, but rather from a single Act of Parliament. It was the proliferation of beerhouses that was the driving force behind the Portsmouth drinking scene in the middle years of the century, they were the instruments through which brewers were later able to put up large new public houses in the expanding suburbs of the borough, and they added to the momentum of the rebuilding mania that bequeathed such a distinctive architectural element to the town's streetscape. It was from the beerhouse that prostitution was largely carried on and it was precisely because this was so that the magistrates could require their closure, a trend that was to accelerate in the Edwardian period. All towns had their beerhouses, but that they were so numerous in Portsmouth derived inevitably from the essential function of the settlement, that of a heavily defended Royal Dockyard. Beerhouses and public houses were thus but one element in the complex fabric woven by the interaction of a range of social, economic, political and indeed ecclesiastic threads.

Appendix I

Beerhouses and Public Houses by A. E. Cogswell, 1884–1900

Name	Location	Date	Brewer	Remarks	
Blue Anchor	Kingston Crescent	1884	Peters	Rebuild	Bombed 1941
Railway Hotel	Claremont Road	1887	Lush	New	Shut 1981
Crystal Palace	Fawcett Bridge	1888	Peters	Rebuild	Shut 1972
Derby Tavern	Stamshaw Road	1889	Gibb	Interior work	
Bedford Hotel	Commercial Road	1892	Pike Spicer	Rebuild	Shut 1937
Crescent Arms	Kingston Crescent	1892	Lush	Rebuild	Shut 1976
Osborne Tavern	Commercial Road	1893	Lush	Additions	Shut 1970
Pelham Hotel	Chichester Road	1894	Pike Spicer	New	
Avenue Hotel	Twyford Avenue	1896	Pike Spicer	New	
Talbot	Goldsmith Avenue	1896	Brickwood	New	Shut 1981
Victoria & Albert	Hard	1897	Lush	Rebuild	Shut 1934
Hearts of Oak	Commercial Road	1897	Brickwood	New front	Shut 1975
Duke of Edinburgh	North Street	1897	Lush	Additions	Shut 1964
Rutland Hotel	Francis Avenue	1898	Pike Spicer	New	
Fountain Inn	London Road	1898	Pike Spicer	Rebuild	
Kingston Tavern	Kingston Road	1898	Bransbury	Rebuild	
Black Dog	Arundel Street	1899	Brickwood	Rebuild	Shut 1969
Museum Gardens	Fratton Road	1899	Pike Spicer	New front	
Byron	Queen's Road	1899	Gibb	New	
Borough Arms	St Paul's Road	1900	Brickwood	Rebuild	
Gloucester	St George's Road	1900	Pike Spicer	Rebuild	
Mermaid	New Road	1900	Pike Spicer	Alterations	
Ship Tavern	Church Road	1900	Pike Spicer	Alterations	Shut 1968
Pompey	Frogmore Road	1900	Brickwood	New	
Graham Arms Hotel	George Street	1900	Gibb	New	

Sources: Andy Nash, *A. E. Cogswell, Architect within a Victorian City*, Portsmouth Polytechnic, 1975; Fred Gardiner, 'The Pubs of Victorian Portsmouth', unpublished dissertation, Portsmouth Polytechnic, 1980; *The Builder*, 15 April 1893; *Portsmouth Times*, various issues.

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40 P.C.R.O., D 1/848.

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46 *H.T.*, 4 September 1869.

47 Bonham Carter papers, Hampshire Record Office, 94 M72/F 623.

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52 *H.T.*, 28 September 1862, 1 September 1866, 7 September 1867, 5 September 1868.

53 *H.T.*, 8 September 1866, 12 September 1868.

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55 *H.T.*, 2 September 1863.

56 *H.T.*, 28 September 1861.

57 *H.T.*, 3 September 1864.

58 *H.T.*, 2 September 1863.

59 *H.T.*, 9 September 1865.

60 *H.T.*, 2 September 1863.

61 1 September 1866.

62 19 September 1863.

63 *H.T.*, 3 September 1864.

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71 William G. Gates, *Records of the Corporation 1835–1927*, Portsmouth, 1928, p. 78.

72 William G. Gates, *Records of the Corporation 1928–30*, Portsmouth, 1931, pp. 1xix–1xx.

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76 *Report of the Committee to Inquire into the Prevalence of Venereal Disease in the Army and Navy*, P.R.O. War Office Papers, W.O. 33/12, 1862, cited by Judith R. Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society*, Cambridge, 1980, pp. 74–5. Both the War Office and the Admiralty were concerned at the incidence of venereal disease among servicemen and this gave rise to the Contagious Diseases Acts of 1864, 1866 and 1869, under which women suspected of being infected were confined to 'lock wards' in hospitals. In Portsmouth they were at the Royal Portsmouth Hospital, see Walkowitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 215–6.

77 *H.T.*, 8 September 1866.

78 Some highly relevant quotations appear in W. N. Yates, *The Anglican Revival in Victorian Portsmouth*, The Portsmouth Papers, No. 37, 1983, p. 4.

79 William G. Gates, *Records of the Corporation 1835–1927*, Portsmouth, 1928, p. 107.

80 Refreshment houses were created by the Refreshment Houses Act of 1860 and were licensed for the sale of foreign wines. The act also permitted the grant of an off-licence for wines to shopkeepers.

81 *H.T.*, 4 September 1869.

82 *H.T.*, 28 August 1869.

83 *Ibid.*
84 On microfilm, Portsmouth Central Library.
85 *H.T.*, 11 September 1869.
86 Successive issues of the *H.T.* from 4 September 1869.
87 There was, on the other hand, an increase in the number of off-licenses, with which this paper is not concerned. In 1896 there were 76 off-licensed beerhouses, 76 grocers' licences and 42 wine and spirit licences. There were also 8 on-licensed refreshment houses.
88 Harrison, *op. cit.*, p. 162.
89 *H.T.*, 7 September 1878.
90 *H.T.*, 18 September 1872.
91 *P(ortsmouth) T(imes)*, 26 August 1893.
92 *P.T.*, 12 September 1896.
93 *P.T.*, 24 August 1889.
94 *P.T.*, 27 August 1898.
95 R. C. Riley, 'Rate Returns and Industrial Geography: Nineteenth Century Brewing in Portsmouth', in D. N. Mottershead and R. C. Riley (Eds.) *Portsmouth Geographical Essays*, II, 1976, p. 73.
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99 *P.T.*, 25 August 1894.
100 Basil Oliver, *The Renaissance of the English Public House*, Faber and Faber, 1947, pp. 80–92.
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106 Andy Nash, *A. E. Cogswell Architect within a Victorian City*, Portsmouth Polytechnic, 1975, p. 85.
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108 It is likely that this is an underestimate, expecially in respect of rebuilds.
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